439 Yokuts baskets in exchange. There was an under-
648 current of hostility between the Monachi and the Yokuts and these traders were often accompanied by Waksachi or Patwisha as an assurance of cordial reception. They never went farther west than to the Gawia and Yokod, and four days to a week would be the extent of their stay. Women as well as men came on these trading trips, and occasionally one would stay the winter, acquire a man if she could, but return to the eastern side of the mountains the following year.[139] The Wukchumni and other foothill Yokuts did not go across the Sierra Nevada to trade. After the intrusion of white settlers the eastern side of the mountains was used as a refuge by Yokuts in flight from white persecution.

101 The Western Mono tribes northeast of the Waksachi, the Entimbich and Wobonuch, were merely called "easterners" or "uplanders" (nuta´) by the Wukchumni, while the Wechihit, Choinimni, and others on Kings River were called "northerners" (hoisa´´ima). All tribes south of the Yaudanchi, i.e., at Tule River and southward, were called "southerners" (humta´nan).

Wukchumni Villages

● 124 I was not able to secure anything comparable to a census for any Wukchumni village, as only a remnant population was left even in the childhood of my informants. Certain families and persons are well remembered and repeatedly referred to by all informants. Such data as I have follow. That given by J.B. may serve as an example of all such seed-gathering expeditions.

361 There were three major Wukchumni settlements: Diapnuša, Gutsnumi, and Hoganu, in order of their respective importance (Local Map B, nos. 33, 19, and 29). The most prominent chief about 1870-1890 was Muṭo´ñi,[140] who had
622 headquarters at Diapnuša, but who had a ménage at Hoganu where his son Bise´ti and daughter Wa´chat were born and raised. One of the winatums at Diapnuša was Po´koi, J.B.'s father. When late spring (ko´toi tiša´myu) came, people thought of going to gather seeds. This would
221 be about May after the Snake Ritual had been
166 held. The chief decided when to move; he would call Pokoi and tell him to announce the moving.[141]
621 It was not necessary that all families go at exactly the same time, nor did they have to wait until the chief himself set out. But all

[186 837]

[139] While M.L. spoke scornfully of these lingerers, she denied that they were prostitutes. Casual cohabitation was a commonplace of Yokuts culture: men came and went, enjoying temporary domesticity.

[140] Consistently pronounced matsu´ñi by J.B.

[141] In two myths recorded by Dr. Newman a description of this seed-gathering move serves as a prologue (cf., Gayton and Newman, 1, 89).

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

PREFACE

In introducing this *Handbook of Yokuts Indians* it is probably necessary to state that I was born on the Orestimba Creek in western Stanislaus County and lived the early portion of my life in several localities on the "West Side" of the San Joaquin Valley.

There had been no Indians on the West Side since about 1806. They had been stripped from that entire territory from Martinez on the north, to Paleta on the south, and taken to the Spanish Missions on the coast. However, all along the eastern edge of the Coast Range foothills, along the San Joaquin River and along the lakes and sloughs from that river southeast to a point south of Bakersfield, there were many evidences of Indian occupation.

Those evidences were in the nature of abandoned village sites: depressions where structures had stood; cemeteries; flat, earthbound rocks, honeycombed with mortars; occasional portable mortars, pestles, metates and manos, beads, arrow and spear points, and heat-shattered cooking rocks.

On the Orestimba, Romero, Garzas and Los Baños Creeks, and along the near-by San Joaquin River were many immense, saucer shaped depressions over which had stood structures of some kind. One of these on Los Baños Creek is more than sixty-five feet across. In the center of these depressions are fire pits, still containing charcoal and heat-shattered rocks.

For those of us who lived on the West Side, these evidences of departed Indians held a great fascination. I can still remember how in 1909 I was thrilled to see my first live Indians. They were camped by the road in the mountains near Strawberry, east of Oakdale.

In 1923, when I first went to Tulare County to live, I was again thrilled to find several Indian families living in primitive manner along the banks of the Kaweah River east of Visalia. In October of that year I interviewed my first aged Yokuts, blind Mollie Lawrence. She was a full-blood Wukchumne and was then about ninety-five years of age. I continued to interview Mollie until 1928, when she died. In the

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

past twenty-five years more than two hundred Indians have been interviewed. A number of these Indians had seen the first white settlers come to the eastern San Joaquin Valley.

In 1928 I found living on White River an aged white man who had been raised by the Choinimne Yokuts on Kings River. His mother had died in 1850 when he was about six years of age and he had been taken by the women to a nearby Indian village. This man's name was Thomas Jefferson Mayfield. From him I learned many things about primitive Indian life difficult to learn from Indians themselves.

From several hundred aged white pioneers were obtained statements relating to the Yokuts Indians. Many of these pioneers were the first white people to settle among those Indians.

It is from these data, gathered first-hand from both aged Indians and pioneer whites, that the material for this *Handbook of Yokuts Indians* has been compiled. Little has been taken from published works. In some instances material in this work differs from that already published. I can only state that I have presented it as I obtained it from the Indians themselves and suggest that, after all, the Indian is probably the final authority.

As a first-hand contact with the Yokuts and to show the type of statements from which the *Handbook* has been compiled, Chapter XIII presents verbatum statements obtained from Pahmit, a Dumna, and from Yoimut, who was the last full-blood survivor of the Chunut Yokuts tribe.

F. F. LATTA
Bakersfield, California
January 18, 1949

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

At this point in the account of the Yowlumne Indians it is necessary to make some explanation concerning their name. It appears in other printed literature as *Yauelmani*. I used this pronunciation until I had interviewed Wahumchah over a period of more than twenty years. One afternoon, when we were returning from a program before the Standard School in Oildale, he had the following to say: "You know, Mr. Latta, you make one bad mistake when you talk about my people. You call their tribe Yauelmani. That is wrong. The correct name is Yowlumne. Yauelmani means a little group of Yowlumne. I think sometime some old-timer white man met a few of my people. He asked them who they were and they said, 'Yauelmani'. That was right. But that was not their tribe name. I know that from all of my old people."

Since, after all, the Indian is the final authority, and since also, Wahumchah's correction corresponds with many other Yokuts tribe name endings, I have incorporated it in this work.

Wahumchah continued with his corrections: "You make one other bad mistake when you tell people that the name Tehachapi means Windy Place. I knew many old Indians from that place when I was a boy and I heard them explain that name. The Indians from that country call an oak-covered flat *Tah-heetch'* [Wahumchah's pronunciation was about midway between Tah-heetch and *Tah-hitch'*]. Tah-heetch'-e-pah meant People from the Oak Flat."

Since Wahumchah furnished his information concerning Tehachapi, I have interviewed several old Indians who have lived their entire lives around Tehachapi and Tejon Canyon. They have corroborated Wahumchah and have added that they still use the name, Tah-heetch. It is applied to the large, oak-covered flat north of the road just above Tejon Ranchos Headquarters. On an 1864 map of California in Johnson's *Atlas of the World* the name appears as *Taheechepah*.

Concerning the origin of the name Yowlumne, Wahumchah furnished the following: "Our people were known as the Wolf People. In the old days *Yowl'-its*, the big white wolf, lived in our country. In my language *Yowl* meant the same as it does in English. Yowlits meant howler. Yowlumne meant People of the Howlers."

The Yowlumne had their tribal limits set as definitely as did the other Yokuts tribes. They hunted, fished and gathered

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

789 778 eral Indians working on the ranch as vaqueros. One of them saw the stone when I showed it to the other vaqueros. He told the man who had hung it out what I had done and the next day the owner came to me for it. Our vaquero explained to me that it was *tripne* (supernatural) and why it had been hung in the tree."

The above account was verified by Frank Bequette, another early resident of the same locality, and by numerous other settlers around Tulare, Kern, Buena Vista, Goose and Summit Lakes, as well as the streams which flowed into those bodies of water. But there was little or no printed reference to Yokuts charm-stones. There seemed to be more mystery than information about them.

789 778 ● 124 About 1930 I first interviewed Mrs. Josie Alonzo, of Hanford. Her Indian name was *Yoimut* and she was the last full-blood survivor of the *Chunut* (Choo'-noot) tribe of Yokuts. Yoimut knew much about the Yokuts Rainmaker's charm-stones. Below is a portion of the information she furnished about them.

"I had an uncle named *Teh-nih'-pahs*. He was a real old Indian with long hair with beads in it. He was a *Wowol* (Wo'-wol). I learned his song that went with the *unuk*. He put a little water on the unuk before he sang to make it rain. If he dipped it in the water and then sang and danced, he could bring a flood. He was Tripne. If he had real bad luck he would throw his unuk in the lake, maybe off of boat, maybe from shore.

"The unuk was a long pretty stone. It was round and smooth and had a little head at one end. This is the song he sang with his dance while he held the unuk in one hand:

[539 533] *Toke'-un lih'-nuh* *Wa-tin-hin* *nah* *Yo'*
(west side) (straight path) (me) (to mark time)
Hi-yo-um'-ne *Ah-he* *oo-nook* *mi-uh'-wah*
(Wo-wol village) (this is I) (charm stone) (over you)

"He sang this song over and over as he danced. West Side was the name of the song. It meant 'I, the charm stone, am over you, showing you the straight path to Hiyoumne, the old Wowol village'. It had a very pretty tune.

"Lots of Indian Doctors tried to learn this song. They wanted to be Tripne Rain Doctors. They tried to sing it, but never learned it right. I heard them sing lots of times, but I

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

never sang my song for them. They were only *Ahntru*. They wanted to be Tripne.

"An old *Nutunutu* (Noo-too'-noo-too) Rain Doctor at Kingston knew my song right. I heard him sing lots of times. His name was *Ne'-mah-pah*. He died long time ago."

But after all of the above data had been gathered, there was still much mystery attached to the plummet shaped Yokuts charms. At two points in Tulare County, and one in Merced County "nests" of these charms had been uncovered during the process of leveling land. One of these was near an old, disused channel of Cameron Creek, at the Harris mound, one-half mile north of Paige, west of Tulare. Another was on an old, disused course or slough of Cross Creek, still further west of Tulare. The third was on a blind branch of Santa Rita slough, due east of Los Baños. The general details of all three finds were much the same. The stones had been found buried in a small circle. The charms from the Harris mound, I obtained from Mr. Harris, also his first hand account of their discovery.

While this manuscript was being prepared for the printer I received word that a fourth nest of nine charm-stones had been uncovered about fifteen miles west of Bakersfield near the center of Section 15, T29S, R25E. I was able to secure these stones and to hear from the discoverer what position they had occupied in the ground. A mound was being leveled. At first it was thought to be a sand dune, as, in common with several others nearby, it appeared to be composed of fine wind-blown silt.

This mound was beside an old channel of Kern River, which was filled to a depth of three feet with fine silt. This channel can be traced for several miles in the direction of Bakersfield, and in the opposite direction, toward Goose Lake. It has carried no water within historic times. The silt from the mound was scraped into the old channel and the whole area prepared for planting cotton.

No artifacts of any kind were found; in fact, nothing but clean silt was encountered, until a depth of about six feet had been reached. At that depth an old camp site was uncovered. Charcoal, ashes, and soot-covered, heat-shattered rocks were scooped up by the carryalls, which were drawn by Caterpillar tractors. A number of fine, thin-walled, steatite cooking vessels were broken up by the equipment. A metate and mano and several mortars and pestles were uncovered.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

My people no drink whisky, I think be lots Indian yet. I drink just once. I work for white man. He put me in wagon. He take me home. He tell me, "Pahmit, whisky no good. Whisky kill white man. Whisky kill Indian. You no drink 'em." White man good my friend. I live long time. Pretty soon I go. Then white man no haf pay me seven dollar haf, live one month.

YOIMUT'S STORY
THE LAST CHUNUT

Of the several thousand pioneers I have interviewed, no one was more fascinating than *Yoimut* (Yoi'-mut), last survivor of the *Chunut* Yokuts tribe which once occupied the northeast shore of Tulare Lake. It is of interest to know how I found Yoimut.

One evening I was at the Loy Cutler ranch east of Visalia, talking with Indian Joe Wilcox, making inquiry about the individuals who had been the last survivors of several extinct San Joaquin Valley Indian tribes. Joe had known several last survivors, those from the *Kaweah, Yokodo, Telumne, Pahdwishi, Wowol,* and *Yaudanchi* tribes. I asked him about the Chunut. For a moment or two he was at a loss to recollect. Suddenly remembering, he spoke, "There is one Chunut left. Her daughter was here last night. She is at the W. H. Wilbur ranch, near Tulare."

It was then 10:30 P.M., December 1, 1930. I immediately drove to the Wilbur ranch. Billy Wilbur had not gone to bed, so he climbed in the car with me and at 11:30 we were in the cotton camp in the Wilbur field. Soon we had awakened everyone at the camp. Yoimut's daughter and son-in-law talked with us in the kitchen. Yoimut stood silent in a doorway. I explained who I was and that I wanted Yoimut to go with me to our home for a visit, so I could record her story. I expected it to take at least two or three days to persuade her to go.

No one spoke. The daughter looked inquiringly at Yoimut. Yoimut then addressed me in as good English as I could ask and said, "Yes, we know all about you. Our people tell us all about the questions you ask them. Lots of times I tell them what to tell you. I like to tell my story myself. I will go with you tomorrow."

And so Yoimut came. From the first she was as interested and interesting as it is possible for a person to be. She had a

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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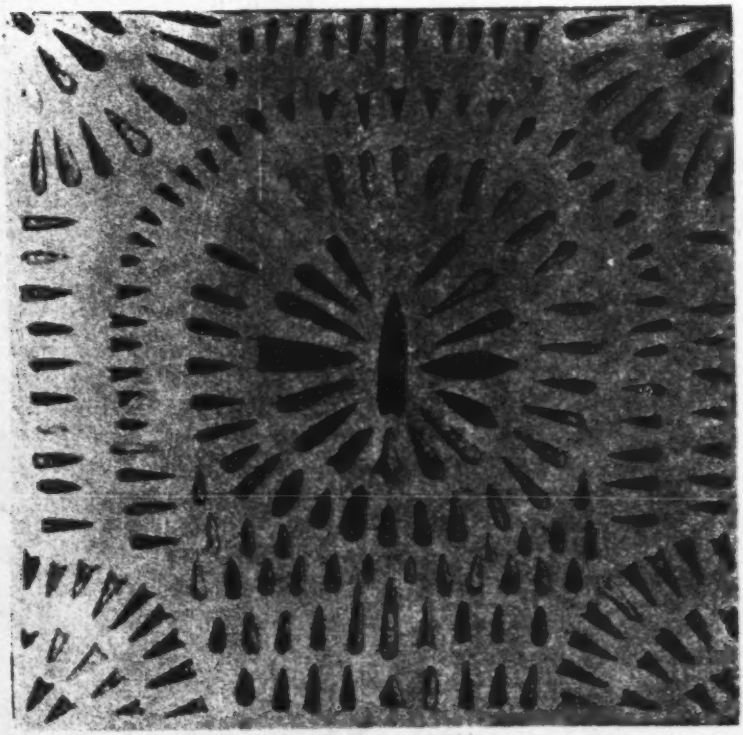
[172]



Above are shown typical Yokuts arrow and spear points, chipped from chalcedony and obsidian. They are from a burial mound about two miles north of Tupman in the range of the Tuhohi Yokuts.

quick, accurate understanding and was able to furnish 3000 words for an English-Chunut dictionary in less time than I had ever collected one before, covering two dialects at the same time, the Chunut of her father and the Wowol of her mother. She could read, write and speak Spanish and English, as well as talk six Yokuts dialects.

Interesting as is Yoimut's story, there is room here for only a portion of it, presented in the following eight sketches, the original language of which has been changed very little:

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361

I was born at the old *Telumne* (Tay'-lum-ne) village of *Watot Shulul* (Wa'-tot Shoo-lool) just northwest of the old

[p.5-B]

193 possibilities of suffix combination. Every word in Yokuts, except the uninflected particle, must have at least one suffix, and the great majority of words occurring in the several volumes of text dictated by my informants do not go beyond this minimum requirement. Words containing two suffixes are fairly common; but words with three suffixes are relatively rare, and those with more than three are practically nonexistent in the texts. This is not a matter of mere statistics; it is a manifestation of selective forces in Yokuts that limit the free application of its grammatical resources. There is no analogous tendency in English to set upper and lower limits to the use of suffixation and to demand that a uniform degree of suffix elaboration be applied to words. As a matter of fact, English does not seek economy or uniformity in the use of any of its grammatical materials. In spite of the fact that we generally look outside the word unit to syntax for the creation of notional complexes, we feel no more strain in a lavishly suffixed word, such as "nationalistically" with its six suffixes, than in a suffixless word, such as "state."

124 193 An instructive exercise that I indulged in during my Yokuts field work was to construct words having four or five suffixes and to ask the informant for a translation. Although such words complied with the grammatical rules and could be translated by my informant without any difficulty, they seldom failed to provoke his amusement. It was obvious that these words were impossibly heavy and elaborate. To the Yokuts feeling for simplicity they were grammatical monstrosities.

193 196 The concepts expressed by the suffixes are abstract in nature. Yokuts does not possess the types of formative element, so familiar in many American Indian languages, that convey notions of concrete instrumentality, such as "with the hand" and "with a stick," or notions of specific location, such as "on the shore" and "in the house." The suffixes of Yokuts have more the character of algebraic symbols; their content is schematic rather than material. Among the verb suffixes, for example, are those defining an event as durative, continuative, repetitive, causative, reciprocal, passive, subordinate, undifferentiated past or present; future. The most common noun suffixes refer to case relations, marking the subject, direct object, and indirect object, or denoting possession, location, and the like. Particularized and concrete meanings are not expressed through the suffixes in Yokuts.

Even the stems, which are the only elements in Yokuts that can specify the material details of reference, show a strong tendency to carve out broad and comprehensive meanings from the referential field. The vocabulary of verb stems is largely made up of such diffuse and generalized notions as "come," "go," "walk," "run," "hear," "see," "smell." When suffixes with their abstract meanings are joined to stems whose referential content is so inclusive, the resulting words con-

[p.6-B]

192 xapapʔiyi, "get spread out in a fanlike forma-
196 tion."
no·mo·mwiyi, "make puckering motions in and
out."

192 The stylistic possibilities of these verbs for
195 creating vivid images in a concentrated manner is
obvious; but not so obvious to English feeling,
which delights in flashes of sharp imagery, is
the sense of violence and bizarreness which these
verbs suggest to the Yokuts stylistic conscious-
ness.

193 From the perspective of Yokuts, these verbs
195 are linguistic freaks. Their grammatical form,
as well as their content, is anomalous in the
Yokuts system. These verbs are composed of two
elements, a stem of the verb wiyi, "do, do thus,"
being added to another stem defining the nature
of the activity. The technique of stem composi-
tion, displayed in these "do" verbs, occurs no-
where else in the language. Furthermore, a num-
ber of the "do" verbs, particularly those re-
ferring to specific sounds, contain a stem having
[192] an onomatopoetic force: ga·gwiyi, "cackle,"
tuhwiyi, "spit," ʾuhwiyi, "cough," hiʔwiyi, "make
a hiccuping sound," miwwiyi, "whistle through the
air." Such mimetic play with sounds is not only
absent elsewhere in the language, but it is out
of keeping with the severe formalism of Yokuts.
In their meanings, in their form, and in their
phonetic mimicry, these verbs seem to be cut to
the pattern of a foreign idiom. They are like
an ornate Byzantine mosaic set in a Calvinistic
church.

192 It is a significant comment on the directive
195 tendencies of historical drift in language that
197 these eccentric "do" verbs have been leveled out
of most of the modern Yokuts dialects. Only a
few petrified noun derivatives are left in these
dialects to indicate that the "do" verbs were
formerly common throughout Yokuts. Only in one
dialect, Yauelmani, have they been found as a
fully operative and productive set of verbs. But
they have a peculiar status in this dialect: they
are regarded as the linguistic property of chil-
124 dren. I did not become aware of this class of
192 verbs until, after two or three weeks of field
195 work, I overheard some remarks which my inform-
ant's eight-year-old son was addressing to him-
self. Only with the greatest difficulty could I
coax my informant to explain the "do" verb which
his child had used and to give me further examples
of this class. It was evident that he regarded
[197] words of this type as being too silly for serious
[88] discussion and totally out of keeping with the
essential sobriety of adulthood. Not until some
time later did he tell me that these words were
used primarily by children. But even after he
had overcome his reluctance to discuss the "do"
verbs, he was never able to treat them seriously.
A spirit of facetiousness always accompanied our
work with them.

195 The myths do not contain many examples of the
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[p. 9-A]

538 human: their animal predecessors were immortal or
773 revived by easy means. The other story is that
of the Pleiades, the group of discontented young
wives who rose to the sky. Both stories are
localized by tribe in accordance with the nar-
[173] rator's tribal affinity. Of tales which are be-
lieved to record recent historical events, New-
man obtained two, one the narrative of an actual
war between several tribal groups (which is not
included here) and The Gamblers. Gayton re-
corded two, The Boastful Man and A Bear Trans-
formation. One of Kroeber's tales, The Man and
the Owls, appears to have been regarded as an
actuality.

538 That mysterious necessity, whether psychic,
178 neurological, or emotional, which makes culture
persist, seems more palpably in effect in myth-
ology than in other aspects of culture.[7] There
is little or no ritual usage of myths by Yokuts
and Mono: out of a world compiled of thousands
of objects, acts, and ideas, the narrator is
theoretically free to choose his literary ma-
terials, yet he persistently tells his story ac-
cording to traditional form. This observation
is an old one, but it can never be overempha-
sized. And it is recalled here because the
stylistic simplicity of Yokuts tales is a case
[171] in point. The usual stock-in-trade of North
American Indian narrators--the inexhaustible
dish, kill-all arrow, life-token, Symplegades,
and such--were known to the Yokuts and appear in
their tales. But instead of being used fre-
quently, as in Pomo or more extremely as in
Northwest Coast myths, they are used sparingly,
one in one tale, another in another. Now, this
may be narrative restraint, or it may be con-
forming to tradition, or both. But simplicity
is maintained in spite of the possibility for
florescence.

Although ritualistic pressure did not bear
upon Yokuts tales, two constraining factors may
be noted. The first was the rôle of these myths
as traditional lore, that is, sheer historical
[173] information. The myths are repeated to the
[869] young as historic fact--this was the way land
was made, fire was obtained, evil cannibals over-
[182] come, and so on. The explanatory element is
frequent.[8] This aspect of the myths should
necessitate adherence to general plot even though
details might be altered or augmented. The sec-
ond factor, which actually would affect the

[124] [7]This "necessity" was manifested individually by a Wobonuch man, who, though consistently refusing to act as an interpreter, always worked near by while his daughter interpreted for my informant. One day he suddenly threw down his ax, strode menacingly toward the young woman, and said, "If you're going to tell it, you tell it right!"

[8]The presence of explanatory elements in myths, however, may not necessarily indicate an etiological motivation (cf. Waterman, The Explanatory Element in the Folk-Tales of the North American Indians).